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myth on clan origins exists among the contemporary Munduruc. Informants merely stated that the tribe was once homogeneous, but the culture hero Karusakaibö divided the group into clans and assigned the eponyms. This belief contrasts with that reported by Kruse, according to which the Munduruc were once independent and mutually hostile tribes that were welded into a social entity by Karusakaibö through the expedient of converting each tribe into a clan.[1] The latter account and the previously mentioned lack of a clear-cut concept of descent from the eponym are instructive when seen in the light of the term for clan. This word, *dïuat*, means literally "dwellers of the river" (*dï* = river, *uat* = dwellers). Thus, the clan name *Paruwaibuat* can be translated as "Dwellers of the River of the Yellow Macaw." This suggests that the clans were originally localized entities, rather than the present highly dispersed groupings. If this is true, it would contrast strikingly with contemporary clanship, for the Munduruc are—and this is important—predominantly matrilocal. Under the latter residence rule, young men affiliate with the villages and households of their brothers, fathers, sons, and brothers are thereby separated, and clan membership, given the patrilineal mode of descent, becomes scattered throughout the tribe. An earlier phase of lineage and clan localization would imply patrilocality, and we are here presented with the possibility that the Munduruc underwent a basic change in rule of residence. There is more evidence for this than [illegible] by the term for clan, and the argument will be pursued in the following discussion of the ritual prerogatives of clanship.

Each savannah village has a men's house, which is the dormitory and club house for all post-pubescent males.

[1] Kruse, 1934, pp. 56-57.

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that the only proper place for "people" is in the savannah. Residence beyond this heartland is tantamount to becoming a pariwat, or "outlander."

THE VILLAGE

Each village contains two to five dwelling houses and the men's house, or *ekad*. The former have rectangular ground-plans of about 20 by 40 feet in dimension and are internally uncompartmented. The walls are made of the bark of the *tauari* tree and extend to approximately two feet from the roof. The intervening space is either left vacant or loosely covered with palm fronds to allow ventilation. The roofs are steeply pitched and made of thatch placed over a pole framework. This architecture represents a departure from the traditional type. Until recent times, houses had roughly elliptical ground plans, structures of 80 to 100 feet in length are said to have been common in the more populous past.

The houses are arranged in a circle around a central plaza that is now underbrush and weed-infested. The men's house is always located on the west side of the village perimeter, and faces east into the plaza. It is totally unlike the dwellings in design and construction. Made in the form of an open-sided lean-to, it consists only of a roof that rises from the ground on the west side to a height of about 15 feet, and is supported by posts at the middle and both sides at four points along its length. Men's houses of [illegible] feet in length, but that of the contemporary village of Cabruá is only 50 feet long and 30 wide.

Modern Cabruá is typical of the savannah communities, except for certain situational factors of population and immediate environment. It is accessible from the Tapajós River by either the Cabitutá or Tropas rivers; the former

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THE MEN

Village life is not understandable unless the organization of male and female social activity is separately treated. The Munduruců exhibit the most complete development of the male-female dichotomy and accompanying men's house complex in South America. The Kamayurá men's house serves as a center for ritual,[1] and that of the Bororo is additionally a bachelor's sleeping quarter.[2] Among the Munduruců, however, all the post-pubescent males, married and single, sleep and relax in its confines, and it is additionally the center of the cult of the sacred musical instruments.

This unusually complete division presents points of difference with the account of Martius, for the explorer stated the Munduruců men's house ekxá to be the residence of village bachelors and young men undergoing bride service.[3] Farabee, in 1915, also reported that the men's house was a bachelors' dormitory,[4] but this is denied by old informants who were young men at the time of his visit. Farabee's information is the most unreliable extant source on Munduruců culture and I assume that he is in error on this point, also. This is borne out by Tocantins who noted in 1875 that "only prime men live in the ekxá, the warriors and their sons above the age of eight years."[5] Tocantins continued: "Around the ekxá are the houses of the women, where also live the children of both sexes, the old decrepit men and the sick."[6] It is possible that Martius's report, like Farabee's, is an inaccuracy expectable in such a source,

[1] Oberg, 1953, p. 54.
[2] Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942, p. 28.
[3] Martius, 1867, p. 113.
[4] Farabee, 1917, p. 130.
[5] Tocantins, 1877, p. 102.
[6] Ibid., p. 103.

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114 but it is equally possible that the former reporter was cor-
• 345 rect and that the present composition of the men's house
575 represents a change that took place after his visit. Proceed-
ing from Murphy's data on other aspects of Mundurucú
social structure, if the men's house was the residence of
591 bachelors and men in bride service in villages that were
621 fundamentally patrilocal, the change to matrilocality
562 would have kept the latter in the village. They would then
have been faced with either permanent residence in the
men's house or eventual removal to the dwelling of their
wife, where they would be under the immediate aegis of
the father-in-law and under the necessity of closer incor-
poration into the household economy and authority struc-
ture. Although the latter was a possible alternative, as any
matrilocal society demonstrates, the former resolution of
the problem would have eased the transition to matriloca-
lity by making its acceptance less onerous to the male. Such
easement is important, for, in contrast to the local exoga-
amy of most matrilineal and matrilocal groups,[7] the Mun-
durucú male commonly comes from another village and
does not have a nearby kingroup in which he exerts pre-
rogatives and on whose members he can count for aid. At
the time of the transition in residence patterns, the then
prevalent system of localized or semilocalized clans un-
doubtedly was correlated with local exogamy, and it may
be assumed that the bridegroom was commonly from an-
other community. The young man caught in the process of
change to matrilocality was thus forced to accommodate
himself to permanent residence in a village in which he
had no supporting group of kinsmen. This is the fate of
the female in a patrilocal group, but, unlike the female,
the male plays the main role in the structure of authority
and policy in nearly all human societies. The fragmenta-

[7] Cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 214.

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the women of her household. Occasionally, two or more men of the same household will plan a garden jointly, although this is not normal procedure. In hunting, the man may join in a communal chase with all other men or with only a few of his choice, who may be from any household. In short, the bridegroom is expected to show respect, deference, and a degree of obedience to his father-in-law, but there are few occasions on which the men of the house act as a unit under central direction. This extends even to the construction of the house, for each dwelling of a new village is erected by the collective labor of all residents.

The men are by no means completely dissociated from the dwellings of their wives. The husbands frequently relax there, visit their children, or take a snack of food. And, as has been noted, the passage of years usually sees a consolidation of ties between man and wife and, concomitantly, with her household; it also sees the growth of the husband's prestige within the extended family unit. But most of the male's time is passed in the men's house, and the locus of his political and economic activity remains in its framework and not in that of the household. The relationship between men's house and dwelling will become clearer when the organization of the latter is discussed.

In the ekná lineal affiliations are recognized in the sleeping arrangements. On each side of the men's house and [illegible] horizontal poles running the full length of the house five feet above the ground. These supports form the stays from which two rows of hammocks are hung. The men of the Red moiety always sleep in the south row, those of the White in the north. Individual clans have no fixed place in each row, for clan composition in each village is too variable. The oldest men always hang their hammocks in the rear of the shelter, where they gain

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greatest protection from the weather. Other men, first of the same clan and then of the same phratry, hang their hammocks adjacent to these older men, but the boys and adolescents are expected to sleep in the less favored forward part of the ekxá whatever their lineal affiliations. This is less a violation of clan unity than an affirmation of the prestige accorded to age in Mundurucú society.

The men's house is the single most important institution in the structuring of male activity. It serves as an informal forum in which plans are discussed and decisions made, and each man interacts with every other man to a greater extent within its precincts than if the village were organized strictly along extended family lines. The men generally take their first meal of the day in the men's house, shortly after dawn, and set out from there in groups for the day's hunt. On their return to the village, they leave their kill with their wives and then go to bathe. They return from the stream to the men's house and there relax in their hammocks until all have returned and the evening repast is ready. Some pass their time while waiting in making baskets, bows, arrows, and other items. When the food is cooked, a younger member of each household goes to the house to bring its contribution to the communal meal. A loud shout goes up to call in the stragglers, and all gather about the pots. The oldest help themselves first, and second choice is given to the boys. After the evening meal, the occupants of the ekxá lie in their hammocks and converse; most fall asleep soon after night falls.

The emphasis on cooperation between the men transcends the practical necessities of Mundurucú ecological adaptation, and it is looked upon as good and valued behavior in itself. No man refuses an invitation to take part in garden breaking, for, not only will he one day expect reciprocity, but to refuse would be to disassociate himself

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from his co-residents and arouse their antagonism and suspicion. For a shaman, such asocial and deviant behavior may court the risk of accusation of sorcery. Cooperation is an aspect of the general solidarity and cohesion that is manifest, at least in surface relationships, among the men. Open arguments are rare among Munduruku males; during our residence we never heard one raise his voice against another. And physical violence, except in the execution of sorcerers, is almost unheard of. The Munduruku look on such behavior as a white man's trait and consider it to be repulsive among "people."

This emphasis on harmony and cooperation among the Munduruku men is significant for the social structure. The men are an eclectic group from the standpoint of patrilineal kinship and local origins, but the organization of men's house activities welds them into a unified social entity that cooperates in economic matters and, in former times, in warfare. The uniformity of the men's organization from one village to another, and its diverse membership, do much to ease the strains imposed on the male by matrilocal residence, for a change in village is primarily a change from one man's house to another.

The solidarity of the village men has no doubt done much to maintain the striking male dominance manifest in Munduruku society, despite the fact that the consanguineal continuity of the village is maintained primarily through household nuclei of related women. But there are also ritual techniques for the maintenance of male social superiority. Women enter the dwelling part of the club only when it is absolutely necessary. The chamber in which the sacred trumpets (karikó), are kept is absolutely forbidden to them. The trumpets are stored in a chamber adjoining the southwest side of the men's house. That of the village of Cabruá measures 11 by 20 feet, and pairs

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leaf walls and a baffle doorway guarantee the privacy of the instruments. The Munduruca believe that the kuriká spirits protect the village and give it supernatural aid, but proper relations must be observed toward these supernaturals if their benevolence is to be maintained and their anger avoided. The trumpets and their spirits are pleased by being periodically played. This is now done about every other evening, but the older men claim that the ritual was formerly performed daily. The kuriká consists of a set of three hollow cylinders with reeds set in the mouths; their sizes are slightly graded and the note produced by each is of a slightly different pitch, although all produce a low, vibrant sound. When they are played by the usual three-man group, the music sounds like a dirge.

In addition to playing the instruments, the men must "feed" them almost daily. This is done during the evening meal. The trumpets are laid on the floor, and one of the men holds a bowl of food momentarily before the end of each, saying: "Here, old people. Eat. And make me lucky in the hunt." The food is then brought outside and poured back into the community bowl and eaten.

It has been said that the functional connection between clan and trumpet has become extremely attenuated, and each kuriká is now, in effect, part of a village cult. The kuriká has a further function, however, in rationalizing and maintaining the social rules considered proper to either sex. Long ago, say the Munduruca, there were no sacred musical instruments. Three women went to the forest one day and heard music coming from a lagoon. They returned with reeds and sought there this, each of which turned into a trumpet. The women kept their discovery secret, but one day the men learned that they had musical instruments which they played in the forest, and demanded that they bring them to the village. The women

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done by the men, women, and children, working in common.

An entirely new work pattern and division of labor grew out of these necessary changes. As other households were established in the growing villages, they too fell into the same system, for the earlier households, regardless of size, had become established as the basic unit in the production and consumption economies. Unless the newcomer had a very close blood tie with an established household and could thus be included in its economic arrangements, he would have to form his own economic unit, consisting of himself and his family.

Once a social change is made and a new adjustment found, it is almost impossible to turn the clock back and reestablish what has been lost. This is evident among the Mundurucú, and part of the irreversibility of process is in this case due to the women. They, especially, liked the new work arrangements. They now shared many tasks with the men and enjoyed a correspondingly improved status in relation to the opposite sex. The Cururú woman works less than her sisters of the savannahs and has no desire to return to the rigid social and economic cleavage between the sexes. Her relatively greater amount of free time enables her to help more in the rubber avenues than the savannah woman, but since this further solidifies the male-female economic bond and gives her a greater claim to the proceeds of the cash product, the extra work redounds ultimately to her advantage. This and the fact that the clothed opposite of the Cururú women for every one other, more utilitarian, articles of Western civilization in seemingly limitless make her a formidable factor in social change.

In view of all this, it is understandable that no Mun-

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THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

Cururú village on the Cururú River has ever had the men's house. The male organization has meaning primarily in terms of the social and economic division of the sexes and in the maintenance of male solidarity and dominance. These have been drastically altered, and the men's house would have no function in the new social structure. Similarly, the ceremonies for the game-animal spirits have never been observed on the Cururú, because the major festivals were focused on the hunt and depended on the men's house for their proper completion. Also of importance has been the presence of the missionaries, who have consistently discouraged native religious ceremonies in the region under their influence.

THE RUBBER TRADE

When posed with the question of why he prefers residence on the Cururú to the savannahs, the male Mundurucú informant gives three reasons. First, that even in the rainy season one can catch enough fish in the Cururú River, while the campineiro may hunt to no avail for several days in succession. Second, that savannah life requires much walking, but that, on the Cururú, the canoe makes travel easier. The walks referred to are those long treks that the savannah dweller must make at the beginning and end of the rubber season, when his supply of farinha has to be replenished, or when work has to be done in the gardens. Third, that on the Cururú trade goods are plentiful and accessible, and a better return is received from rubber.

The latter point is important, because the Mundurucú are aware of the sharp practices of the Brazilian traders, although they feel powerless to cope with them. "Not only does the patron give very little for rubber," say the Cururú River residents "but when asked for more expensive articles he always replies that he does not have any